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TO  
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AN ADDRESS

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AT CLEVELAND, OHIO, AUG. 17, 1870,

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THE  
RELATION OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT  
TO  
PUBLIC EDUCATION.

THE relation of the National Government to public education, discussed by a German in Berlin, would suggest the following of the imperial decree from the lips of William the First, by the Grace of God King of Prussia, through its various effects—the action of the ministry, the collection and disbursement of school revenues, the foundation and furnishing of institutions for superior and elementary instruction, of normal schools for the training of teachers, of technical schools for the special training and preparation for industries, holding every child of declared age due to his school and compelling his attendance, enforcing an intelligence so universal that in 1866-7 less than four per cent. of the conscripts to the army could not read and write: discussed by a Frenchman in Paris, Napoleon would take the place of William in the decree, and the same general line would direct the argument, reaching results showing a marked difference in the excellencies of method and the universality of intelligence; thirty per cent. of the conscripts being unable to read and write; were it discussed by a Chinaman in Peking, the same central force would be remarked, a great universality noted, while the officers of the government would be found to have obtained their official positions through the success attained by competitive examination into which all the male youth of the country were privileged to enter; were the discussion by an Englishman in London, it would represent the national power as supreme to direct the minutest educational details yet without any efficient system, trusting to vast grants of money, to the work of the parish clergy, to her great schools like Eton and Rugby, to her renowned Universities, Oxford and Cambridge, to her special schools of art and industry, altogether producing under her civilization scholars renowned in every department of science, in all the forms of literature and statesmanship, but leaving her lowest classes in an ignorance sufficiently abject to come within the definition of barbarism—a vast volcano covered by a most insufficient and imperiled crust of middle class and aristocratic intelligence.

But the consideration of the relation of the national government to public educa-

tion has for the American, delicacies of involved and reciprocal responsibilities, and wide differences and opposites to all these, which they can only suggest by contrast. No American relation admits the one-man power. Here we have every-man power and the all-men power. For the checks and mutual balances of these, municipal and State organizations intervene in a beautiful harmony. The fact forbids, and the judgment will not admit, that the national government has no relation to public education.

I. I remark first upon the fact of this relation.

1. Historically, its growth from the earliest planting of the colonies presents a series of social and civil phenomena most attractive and instructive to the philanthropic philosopher. The differences in the treatment of education by the colonies were wide, and the results not less so. When, two centuries ago this very year, the English Commissioners for Foreign Plantations inquired of the colonial governors with regard to the condition of their respective settlements, the Governor of Virginia replied: "I thank God there are no free schools or printing presses, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years," while the Governor of Connecticut answered: "One-fourth the annual revenue of the colony is laid out in maintaining free schools for the education of our children."

Generally, the pre-eminence given the public good in all their political thoughts and civil organizations created a strong tendency towards the consideration of the training of the young. In those colonies, in which the whole body of men participated in the framing of the laws, not only the interest in the individual welfare of the young quickened educational effort, but the equal laws they so much sought, and the very existence of the body politic, with all its freight of good for posterity, were seen to depend on the preservation of learning from burial in the graves of their fathers. Every child, as it was born into the world, was lifted from the earth by the genius of the colonies, and in their statutes received as its birth-right a pledge of the public care of its morals, and its mind.

All the colonies had more or less men of this spirit. Dr. Johnson of King's College, New York, in 1762, wrote to Archbishop Secker, desiring that whenever grants for townships or villages were issued, a competent portion should be set apart for the support of religion and schools. Georgia in 1784 required that there should be laid out in each county twenty thousand acres of land of the first quality for the endowment of a collegiate seminary of learning.

To the exertions of these men the country is indebted for leadership in the various steps, the correspondence and the consultation which led to the Continental Congress, and the mighty events which followed, in the midst of which Congress enacted in 1785 that there should "be reserved the lot No. 16 in every township for the maintenance of public schools." The ordinance of 1787, for the government of the territory north of the Ohio river, confirmed the provision and declared that "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and means of education shall be forever encouraged." Further, lot No. 29 in each township was given for the purposes of religion in the case of the Ohio company and the Symmes purchase. Not more than two complete townships were to be given for the purposes of a University.

Here is that national action with regard to education that has shed its blessings upon every son and daughter born in this wide northwest. Here the historian will find the key to the marvels of material, social and civil development, the building of cities, the erection of States, the progress of civilization, no where else paralleled in human annals. Hence have sprung school houses and universities, district, municipal and State systems of education, the pride of the rich and the honor of the poor, opening the arcana of learning to every child, however low, and inviting him to every attainment within the reach of man, and saying to the savans on the highest known summits of science and art (in the language of Webster to his companions in law.) "There is room higher up." How little the fathers comprehended the mighty growth which was to unfold from the acorn which they planted in this rich soil, its relations to liberty in this country and the world over, the measures and the men to come out of it for the preservation of the Union, for the leadership in harmonizing oriental and western civilizations, the unnamed hosts swelling the armies of the new and higher civilization led by Powers in art, Mitchel in science, Burlingame in diplomacy, Lincoln in the Emancipation of slaves, Grant, a new baptised Washington for military and civil affairs, Sherman, Sheridan, and a galaxy of "bright particular stars," on whom mankind will never cease to gaze and bestow their tributes of admiration.

To the early Colonial spirits, founders of

this modern prosperity, are we indebted for the direction of thought, the Declaration of Independence, enforcing the great doctrines with regard to the "inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, for which governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." From them and the work which they had directed, the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States received its inspiration, poised and concentrated in that immortal preamble, the truths of which must ever constitute the foundation and bulwark of human liberty:

"WE THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, IN ORDER TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION, ESTABLISH JUSTICE, INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILLITY, PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE, PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE AND SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY TO OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY, DO ORDAIN AND ESTABLISH THIS CONSTITUTION FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."

What one word in the English language can so fully comprehend the assurance of all these objects--union, justice, tranquillity, defense, general welfare, the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity--as education?

We are not surprised in this convention to find that Mr. Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, in May, 1787, and subsequently Mr. Madison, of Virginia, submitted propositions "to provide for the establishment of a National University at the seat of government, for the advancement of useful knowledge and the promotion of agriculture, commerce, trade and manufactures," which were finally lost expressly on the ground that such power was elsewhere included in the constitution. Indeed, a large body of the best men of the period, led by Washington, believed that the power to encourage education was authorized in the language—"to lay taxes and provide for the general welfare of the United States." No one who seeks to interpret correctly the relation of our National Government to public education can overlook the anxieties and expressions of Washington on the subject. The Continental Congress, a compromise itself between great differences, he was called to the head of the army, a still further compromise. The members of that Congress were more frequently driven to their wit's ends by the diverse sentiments at home than by the warlike array of England. The twelve years school of the Confederation gave them a lively sense of the necessity of "a more perfect union." But Washington, more than any and all these, had occasion in his capacity as General-in-Chief to see, feel and comprehend the inherent diversities with which the National idea had to struggle. How keen his appreciation of the need of intercommunication! How well considered and strong the words with which he urges in his first message, and repeats so often, the necessity

for facilitating the intercourse between distant parts of the country by a due attention to post-offices and post-roads! He had been in personal contact with the soldiers, the undisguised representatives of all classes in all the colonies; he knew, as no one else, what it had been to model them into one army or into several armies with a single purpose; the shadows of greater and more violent difficulties in the future rested upon his patriotic thoughts. In his last annual message he observed, "the institution of a military academy is recommended by cogent reasons, however pacific the general policy of the nation." But his great and cherished moulding instrumentality was a national institution of learning. In his first message to Congress recommending any practical legislation he observed: "There is nothing more deserving your patronage than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness." In his last annual message he observes: "Among the motives to such an institution is the assimilation of principles, opinions and manners of our countrymen by the common education of a portion of our youth from every quarter: the more homogeneous our citizens can be made in these particulars, the greater will be our prospect for permanent union."

For a period many leading statesmen seconded his views. Unquestionably at that date a most powerful educational influence came from the general government to the local communities. But no necessity forced other special legislation with regard to education than what has been mentioned. No office for its observation or aid was opened in the executive departments; and the men that came after soon "knew not Joseph," and forgot the essential relation to national security in which the fathers held education. Each State or community acted according to its local ideas. The free school, common to all, organized under the law of the State, supported by tax levied on the principle that "the property of the State should educate the children of the State," limited at first to a few in New England, gradually extended westward, and finally, in spite of the fatally hostile interests of African slavery, by the great popular favor it received, forced upon the statute book of every State, even the most southern, some sort of a public school system. Its absolute incompatibility with slavery forbade any legislation in reference to it in Congress while that institution was supreme. Whatever the educators thought, however fierce their struggle, however right any aid from the general government, they knew full well they must fail or succeed in their own community, city or State.

Even in the best State systems there were advances and retreats. But in the years after the fathers of the Republic passed away and the admonitions of their period were forgotten, a serious educational dearth fell upon the land, following more

or less the indifference of the national statesmen. There ensued, however, a revival of education in localities, whose premonitory symptoms are seen in the letters and essays of Lindsley in Tennessee, Johnson in Pennsylvania, and Gallaudet in Connecticut, in 1825, and of Carter in Massachusetts, in 1826, and in the legislative reports in Maryland and Kentucky in 1830; a revival finally strengthened and organized into a grand triumph by Mann, Russell, Everett, Brooks, Adams, Barnard, Webster, Sears, Boutwell, Stevens, Lewis, Andrews, Cowdery, Potter and Burrowes, kept up and repeated by the host who continue unto our day.

How much these noble men thought of and desired aid from the general government for their own State endeavors, how much their minds labored with agony that the same educational advantages might be made universal throughout the country, we can never know. We do know, however, that some of them thought there should be an educational office in Washington, and mooted its establishment, and secured the insertion of the educational inquiries into the census schedules of 1840. It is said to have been one of Mr. Mann's greatest disappointments during his term of Congressional service that he could not do what he wished to accomplish for national educational action.

In 1832, Congress, as if in sympathy with the revival of educational sentiment, passed an act giving, in connection with a division of the proceeds of land sales, twelve and a half per cent. to certain States for educational purposes, which was vetoed by Jackson.

In 1837 Congress authorized the deposit with the different States, in proportion to their representation, of millions of the surplus in the treasury for safe keeping and repayment when required, the income of which, in a considerable number of the States, was set apart for school purposes.

The Commissioner of the General Land Office and the Secretary of the Treasury having recommended larger land grants for school purposes, the acts admitting Oregon and Minnesota, etc., added to the 16th the 36th section in each township for schools.

In 1862 followed the grants for colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts, making a total of land grants for common schools, universities, agricultural and mechanical colleges of 78,576,794 acres; or if the last grant is extended to the eleven territories when admitted as states, it will make, as Hon Joseph S. Wilson, the Commissioner of the General Land Office, observes, the princely endowment to the cause of education of 79,566,794 acres, or 124,322 square miles—a larger surface than the united areas of England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland and all the surrounding islands in the English seas; or, if the amount thus donated be reckoned in money at \$1.25 per acre, it would equal \$98,220,992.50 or an



appropriation from the national government on an average for every year of its existence of \$1,044,904 for educational purposes.

2. Another view under the fact of this relation of the national government to public education should not here escape us. It is directly connected with the late rebellion and its suppression. It is becoming so fashionable in certain quarters, when any allusion, good or evil, is made to those events, to cry out

"Let the dead past bury its dead,"

that the question arises whether there is not abroad a spirit which would bury in oblivion all memories of patriotic sacrifices, and plunge on into the darkness of the future, unmindful of past lessons, the inviting subject of some other calamity, if possible more dire and admonitory. But whatever others may do, the educators of the rising generation must secure the full import of the catastrophe which has overpast carrying with it nine billions of treasure and a million of lives.

How promptly as a class, though in the usages of nations exempt from military service as a profession, these patriotic teachers came forward, leaving their fields of usefulness at home to offer their superior skill to the service of their country, and, if need be, lay down their lives a sacrifice for its preservation, the memorials scattered through the wide land will never fail to tell. From their experience as a class they have reason to appreciate the struggle; from the superior intelligence of their profession they are under special obligations to understand it. It should not be forgotten here that the sentiments which struggled for the overthrow of the Union had been the subjects of misguided instruction, poisoning specially for a generation the channels of thought among the people of a large section of the country. On the other hand, the sentiments which sustained the Union existed, nay, were strong, clear and active, only to the extent that patriotic teachers and educational instrumentalities had made them so. Some one in 1861 fitly observed—"the plantation system and the school district system have come to a crisis."

The intelligence, the character, the philanthropic and christian principles with regard to man, which they had inculcated, not only inspired the national army in its purely military efforts, but gave rise among friends at home, and those in warlike array on the tented field, to those Christian charities, finding expression in ways unnumbered and undescribed, toward the disabled soldier and escaping slave, which cast a halo round the conflict with more in it of heaven than of earth. I can not pause here to even allude to the work of the Sanitary and Christian commissions, amounting in the aggregate to \$20,000,000 of expenditure.

Christian endeavors at home and in the

field were aroused, not only for the liberty of the slave and his protection from physical suffering, but the spirit which had made so prominent, in certain minds, from the earliest colonial date, the public welfare and the associated ideas of man's privileges, rights and equalities by nature, irrespective of all adventitious circumstances, moved the nobler hearts in the army and navy to labors for colored enlistment, industry, observance of family rights, property rights and duties as citizens, and sent among them willing and heroic teachers, often from the best schools at home, resulting in dotting the Atlantic coast and the Mississippi Valley, within the regions of the rebellion, with a new civilization, holding in germ, under national defenses and by national powers the ideas and institutions which are to repossess and become universal throughout the area shadowed by slavery. Freedmen's organizations sprang up through the loyal sections and became active. In the language of the great War Minister, "the sentiment of the country adopted the ex-slaves as the nation's wards."

The national mind, through the movements of the army, became specially cognizant also of another class, in the regions swept over by our forces, ignorant and terribly degraded, described South by various designations, but generally known as "poor whites." Many of them and others fleeing from the calamities of the war had received food, clothing, medical attention and shelter from the national government.

Vast tracts of land had also been abandoned by the owners and naturally came under the national supervision. Congress, pervaded by the sentiment of the country respecting these two classes of persons, put the three great special facts together, and established in March, 1865, at the close of the war, the bureau of refugees, freedmen and abandoned lands. The christian hero, General O. O. Howard, was designated as its chief. His reports show a total expenditure from January 1, 1865, to August 1, 1869, of \$11,249,028.10. Much of this amount was of course expended for physical relief, but the zealous and philanthropic chief of the bureau deeply felt that in the temporary relief provided by Government, it could not but be intended by the nation that there should be appropriate endeavors to prepare these people for all the amenities and responsibilities of citizenship. He therefore centralized the educational supervision which he found, continued and pushed forward the methods of educational aid in existence, till in 1869 he reports 114,522 colored people under instruction. It will be observed that most of this effort has been directed to the improvement of the colored race, for obvious reasons. So great has been their avidity for knowledge that they have seized every opportunity for education, and General Howard is of the opinion that probably 250,000 colored adults



and children have received instruction during the year 1869. Over thirty higher institutions of learning have been brought into existence through the aid of the bureau.

The Greek heroism of an indifferent siege inspires Homer's immortal epic; some Roman scene, most limited in its field and actors, fills historic tomes, but what poet, what historian can ever truly represent to future generations this vast, this special national work, the like of which was never before conceived either in purpose, conduct or results?

3. American theories grow rapidly. What we believe and desire we are apt to stretch the facts to meet. A section of the country, embracing a series of States and equaling an empire in territory, lately the seat of a war so vast and destructive of brotherly ties, of treasure and life, was to be restored to the exercises of all its privileges in the sisterhood of States. We believe they ought to be true to a government so abundant in its benefits, and desire their people to perform aright all the duties and enjoy all the immunities of American citizenship. Accordingly the country rejoices in the restoration of the local governments. In the progress of these events the nation has been impressed with certain leading facts and has met them according to its wisdom.

It found Slavery furnishing the pretext and the sinews of the war for the national destruction, and declared the slaves free. It observed the spirit of the master still disposed to encroach on the new found liberty of the former slave, and fixed the decree of liberty in the Constitution by adding the thirteenth amendment, with full Congressional power to enforce it. Finding his citizenship resisted, the nation put its definition and assurance into the Constitution by adding the fourteenth amendment, and granted to Congress power to enforce it. Finding his enfranchisement still resisted, that was defined and put into the Constitution, and power given to Congress for its defense, by adding the fifteenth amendment.

4. We have observed some things that the nation had done directly to aid education before these great powers, ample to protect liberty from slavery, guard the citizenship of the humblest from encroachment, and secure the ballot in the hands of every man against peril, forever and everywhere in the land, were granted to Congress. We have glanced a moment at the special efforts, made in connection with the war and its results, for education by the nation. But we should not pass from the consideration of this part of our subject before we have called to mind some things which the National Government has done incidentally in acknowledgment of its relation to public education, under the terms of the constitution as they stood before these special grants of power to Congress.

No government, since the theocracy, has ever more fully illustrated the great truth uttered by Guizot when he declared: "The

first business of government is to discover what is just, reasonable and suitable to society; when this is found, it is proclaimed; the next business is to introduce it to the public mind." This indirect educational training of the entire people in the doctrines of its existence and procedure, has never been indifferently done. From the people, of the people, by the people, it has never dared deny that all it does is for the people—not alone for their good, but that they may in due time know it, and that it is for the benefit of each and all that they should know it all.

A monarchical or imperial government publishes its decrees and the reports of its officers to a limited extent, for official, not for universal information; if others are to obtain them, they must be purchased at the market price. Our government, perhaps sometimes inadvertently and profligately, (what nursing mother does not?) nevertheless, we believe in the true spirit of a republic, scatters its publications freely among all the people. Our ideas of economy are sometimes smitten by the vast expenditure for printing. But how better can the nation enlighten its citizens in their relations and duties, or illustrate before all the world the path of light it pursues?

Moreover, if the government expects any vast interest to prosper, our statesmen have never doubted the propriety of promoting its growth. On this principle it opened roads through western wilds, built harbors on lake and ocean, improved rivers, and aided transportation by rail and boat. It establishes an Agricultural Department to gather and distribute seeds, statistics and information at an annual cost of \$175,000, and publishes 225,000 copies of its annual report. On this principle, it makes original observations upon the stars, on the surface and structure of the earth, on ocean currents, and the condition and changes of the atmosphere; it extends through years the survey of its coast, and publishes nautical information. It guards authors and inventors in their rights, for the encouragement of genius, and the general benefits thereby to be derived to literature, science, and mankind. On this principle, it sends special commissioners to observe and report on the naval and military operations and improvements of other countries, sends military expeditions into its own wilds, and naval expeditions to the Dead Sea, Japan, or round the world, at a cost of hundreds of thousands of treasure, and it votes aid to explorations of the Polar Sea. Its practice is established and clear with regard to all these direct or incidental benefits to the public welfare.

The national judgment not only affirms the rightness of these expenditures, but the national pride associates with them its progress and glory. They are all educational, more or less directly. There can be no human progress from the beginning to the end of existence, individual or national, which is not educational. If the advance-

ment of all human interest centers in education, it is naturally inquired why everything else should receive direct national attention and encouragement, and education be excepted.

Again, no one doubts the right of the Government to support the Naval Academy at Annapolis and the Military Academy at West Point, the one to train officers for the navy, and the other for the military service of the country. No one doubts the right of the government to detail these officers as instructors at the various institutions of learning, when called for to teach military science. In what way would this constitutional power be stretched if the national government should aid in training teachers for our schools—officers for the host of youth to become the future array of citizens?

5. The minds of educators, full of these reflections, were inquiring why an interest so universal and so central, underlying and affecting every other interest, should not have some central instrumentality of benefit furnished it by the National Government? This resulted in formal action by the National Association of School Superintendents, in February, 1866. Their able memorial, drawn by Hon. E.E. White, asking for the collection and dissemination of educational statistics and information, was presented to Congress, and resulted in the passage of an act to establish a Department of Education, which was approved March 2, 1867. Hon. Henry Barnard was appointed commissioner, and immediately entered on his duties. During the first two years he was paid a salary of \$4,000 per annum, and was allowed three clerks, at yearly salaries of \$2,000, \$1,800, and \$1,600 respectively. In the third year he was paid a salary of \$3,000, and was allowed \$600 as a contingent fund, and two clerks at salaries of \$1,200 each. Various circulars containing inquiries and information were issued, and one report to the number of seventeen hundred copies published.

Every embarrassment beset the Bureau. Its force was not only limited, but its quarters inadequate. From the first, information began to be gathered by the Commissioner with the greatest pains, which would have been invaluable to educators, to science, and especially to the industrial arts; but its publication was not accomplished. The friends of education have been unable to see why this Bureau should not be treated in legislation as the interests committed to it demand.

II. I remark some things that the National Government may not do in its relation to public education. Thus far we have noticed only the fact of this relation as it has been recognized and acted upon under the constitutional powers given Congress, before the recent great grants of power to protect the liberty, the citizenship, and the right to vote of every male citizen in the country. The theory of our government has proceeded on the supposition that

no protection is like that assured by universal education in intelligence and virtue. The occasions which have rendered necessary barriers so strong as the new constitutional bulwarks against the reflow of the waves of evil must be great, and clearly impose a struggle of no small moment upon those who are in those communities to sustain faithfully their sentiment and action to the National Government. Their demand for educational aid, and elsewhere the conviction of its necessity, are uniting under the new grants of power to Congress to demand further national action.

1. I mention, therefore, first under this head, that the national Government can and should seek to do nothing in violation of constitutional law. When we recall the educational sentiments of Jefferson; when we remember that Littleton Dennis Teackle, in Maryland, in 1828, as chairman of a committee in the Legislature, declared in his report that "a good system of primary schools as the nursery of youth is the universal and effectual means of diffusing knowledge, of promoting industry, and of dispensing freely the various benefits of social order and human happiness," affirming that "those persons opposed to their extension must be unfriendly to our form of government," and exclaiming, "would it be well to permit the great body of our people to remain illiterate and debased, the proper subjects of wily intrigue and vaulting ambition?—for all must know that ignorance is the bane of liberty and treason is its natural offspring;" when we find the report of Morehead, chairman of a corresponding committee in Kentucky, holding the following language, "but pecuniary advantages are but paltry and groveling considerations when compared with the moral and intellectual improvement that would follow in the train of a well digested system of common education; there is no check upon the aristocracy of wealth so effectual as the equality of knowledge—a people well educated will never be the slaves of tyrants or the tools of demagogues; those who have aimed to subvert the liberties or abuse the confidence of a free people have approached them through their ignorance;" when we remember how many other patriotic men in the South held and eloquently uttered similar sentiments, and call to mind the night of slavery and blood in which we have seen them go down, and feel that if they and their sentiments had succeeded, the late war and its calamities would never have come upon us, we cannot wonder at the solicitude awakened throughout the land on the contemplation of corresponding efforts now being put forth in the lately disturbed States, at fearful odds and disadvantages, for the establishment of free systems of universal education; nor can we wonder that this solicitude looks in all directions, and especially to the general government for aid in their behalf. Sharing and confirming this anxiety, I nevertheless find and expect to find in the constitution,

and only there, the authority for whatever may be attempted, and would apply every constitutional restriction. In this instrument are laid the foundations of our liberties and from it must come their protection.

2. I observe again, under this head, that nothing should be done calculated to decrease local or individual effort for education. It is *of* the individual and *by* the individual, but it is *for* all men. Whatever comes to any one's education from his relations to others, must after all be determined by what he does. The first formal relation outside of the child is the family. A still larger relation is represented by the Church, the School, or the State. The individuality of each of these is pre-eminently American, and is deeply rooted in the National Constitution.

The separation of Church and State and the freedom of conscience, have given a freedom of play and of growth to these forces nowhere else accorded. The heavenly bodies have no more need to observe the law of gravitation, than these have to regard all constitutional guarantees. Our literature describes with pride their progress; our books, nay, our sculptures and paintings, are not American unless the embodiment of this individualism. Its special beauty is seen in the fact that it does not result in the disintegration charged by its enemies, but reveals the possibility of a harmony excelled only by that "of the spheres."

Education has already accomplished wonders, in sections. Rising in New England, it has disseminated itself westward, and we believe would everywhere to the limits of our territory had it not been for the fatal hostility of slavery. One of the earliest colonial declarations, indicates a correct conception of a graded system of schools for the State, (which the race will never outgrow,) providing elementary, secondary, and superior instruction at the expense of its citizens. There are few questions connected with education which have not received their highest solution and illustration in some one or more of our towns, cities or States, under the relation of the national government to education as it has been seen in the past; here the training of teachers, there country schools, here graded schools, elsewhere compulsory attendance, inspection and supervision, the perfection of educational architecture for the school of the country, the city or of arts, or for the college and university, or for some one or more of the features of internal management, discipline, instruction, illustration, labor and recreation, in the various grades of training. There should be no national action diminishing or checking any local progress in any of these excellencies; the perfection of each is the nation's highest interest for its locality. Yet no one would suggest that these are without relations to the national government alike of sentiment and action. I have somewhere seen it

observed that "the great botanist, Linnæus, thought of constructing a floral clock by a special arrangement of different sorts of flowers. It would not be so difficult a matter as might be supposed. The morning glory opens at dawn, the star of Bethlehem at ten o'clock, the ice-plant at noon, the four-o'clock at that hour in the afternoon the evening primrose at sunset, and the night flowering cereus after dark. The beautiful white water-lily closes its petals at sunset, and sinks beneath the surface of the lake or river for the night. At dawn the petals expand and the flower emerges again from its watery bed."

This beautiful conception of an arrangement by the botanist, bringing together for the eye of man one of the beauties ever present to the Divine observation, would be utterly frustrated by any harm which should interfere with the natural vigor of either plant, and throw it out of its period of bloom. However national action may benefit the educational endeavors of the town, city or state, its own object is defeated the moment harm is brought to the local vigor, wisdom, or results. National action may fitly stimulate the whole to a higher emulation, and seek that the excellencies of one may be attained by all.

3. Again, the national government in its relation to public education may not suffer either the local or general prevalence of ignorance, that shall result in the destruction of the principles of liberty by the centralization of power. It is incompatible with the genius of our government to tolerate other than Indian barbarism within its limits. If, in any part, disorder reigns, a remedy must be found; there can be no greater cause for the development of such a condition of things than ignorance. Writers of every age have used the strongest terms at their command to characterize it. Adam Smith likened ignorance, spread through the lower classes and neglected by the state, to a leprosy, and says "where the duty of education is neglected the state is in danger of falling into terrible disorder." His declaration was speedily illustrated by the English riots of 1780. Macaulay thus describes the scenes:

"Without any shadow of a grievance, at the summons of a madman, one hundred thousand rising in insurrection—a week of anarchy—Parliament besieged—\* \* \* the lords pulled out of their coaches—the bishops flying over the tiles—thirty-six fires blazing at once in London—the house of the Chief Justice sacked—the children of the Prime Minister taken out of their beds in their night clothes, and laid on the table of the horse-guards—and all this the effect of nothing but the gross, brutish ignorance of the people, who had been left brutes in the midst of Christianity, savages in the midst of civilization." But we need not go abroad for such scenes of horror and their lessons. We have seen the police of the city and the authority of the State powerless before the mob, during the anti-

negro riots in New York, Memphis, and New Orleans, and peace and security enforced only by the presence of national bayonets.

Should anywhere a local majority, as we can conceive it may, become hostile to law and disregard its demands, we readily understand the effect upon those in any such community who obey and support law; they are in antagonism to the lawless; their property and lives are at the mercy of the passions of the madmen around them; incendiary fires consume their dwellings, thieves steal their herds, marauders gather their crops, and submission is the only and at best but an uncertain chance of escaping the assassin's knife or bullet, or the halter of the midnight band. All local law trampled under foot, where can they, where will they look but to the central government? The more this condition is extended, the greater the call for the enforcement of the nation's laws or the exercise of its military force. The rule of law must prevail; if it does not by local sentiment, both local and general interest will demand national action. Centralization is less likely to occur in a republic by the assumption of authority by the ambitious, than to be produced by a condition of civil evils which suggest it as a cure. Dr. Draper affirms that the empire was produced out of the Roman republic less by the ambition of the emperors, than by the evils from which the empire was supposed to be a relief. We have seen some of our own States, starting a new government less compact than our own, its foundation even laid in the doctrine of secession, soon here and there suggesting a willingness to escape the disasters into which it had plunged them by becoming a monarchy. Our statesmen should be too observant of these dangers to allow them to overtake us. They must foresee the evil for us, and enable us to avoid it. The citizen owes allegiance to the national government; and the nation, if local lawlessness imperils his property and life, must protect him.

Take away education, and what means remain? As Macaulay observes: "Military force, prisons, solitary cells, penal colonies, gibbets—all the other apparatus of penal laws. If, then, there be an end to which government is bound to attain—if there are only two ways of attaining it—if one of those ways is by elevating the moral and intellectual character of the people, and if the other way is by inflicting pain, who can doubt which way every government ought to take?"

Shall the land where the banners which lead civilization are unfurled, admit the doctrine that the nation may demand all things of its citizen—his service as a juror, as soldier—nay, the sacrifice of his property and life, fealty to the last in everything, and cannot in its very nature aid his preparation for the discharge of these responsibilities? Shall we mock reason with the absurdity that the nation may do every

thing else for him, but must let him rush into barbarism rather than give a thought to his education? There can be no fact growing out of our institutions, nothing but an illusion, a prejudice, some false deduction like that of secession, thus to lead us astray. Rather let those delicate and fit duties be done by the national government which assure the universality of intelligence and virtue.

The more people regard each other's interests spontaneously by choice, the less government, either local or general, is required to display its power. In proportion as the different parts of the country are enlightened, each town, city, county, or state will, of itself, within its own limits, assure every citizen freedom and security in the pursuit of happiness. It is the local observance and enforcement of the law which constitutes one of the chief excellencies of our institutions.

Ours is pre-eminently a government of reason and right. Adopting the language of Guizot, "suppose now that the truth which ought to decide upon the affair, being found and proclaimed, all understandings should be at once convinced, all wills at once determined, that all should acknowledge that the Government was right, and obey it spontaneously. There is nothing yet of compulsion, no occasion for the employment of force. Does it follow, then, that a Government does not exist? Is there nothing of government in all this? To be sure there is, and it has accomplished its task."

III. I next mention some things which the National Government *may* do in this relation.

1. It may do all things required for education in the territories. 2. It may do all things required for education in the District of Columbia. 3. It may also do all things required by its treaties with and its obligations to the Indians.

1. How manifold and full of consequences the duties here included! Every territory is a future state in embryo, in its territorial form completely under the moulding power of the government, soon it will pass to self-direction as a State and assume its appropriate equality in the increasing sisterhood. Then the citizens must be left with only the indirect moral or incidental aid of the nation to work out their school system for themselves. Now the nation may give them for a beginning the best result of the models of the land, inculcating correct ideas of free education; as broad and comprehensive, placing at the head of all secular interests the care and nurture of the young; as impartial, requiring the education of both sons and daughters, giving the latter every fit advantage provided for the former; as universal, embracing all children high and low, rich and poor, black and white; as thorough, adapted to the development of every faculty in the finest symmetry. How

differently has the nation discharged its territorial obligations.

2. Next, as regards the District of Columbia. Here, especially in the city of Washington, there should be a model system of elementary and secondary training for the resident youth, complete in its buildings, grounds, apparatus, and in its opportunities for research in literature, science, and art. Where else than at the seat of government could there more fitly be the crowning university of the land, where every youth could freely pursue any branch of study or experiment desired? The Republic of Switzerland has already set us the example in its Federal University and Polytechnic School of Zurich.

Thus would be realized the ideal dream of the father of his country. Alas! what a contrast with the facts! How reluctantly, nay, how imperfectly, the general government has provided common schools for the children of the District! The system struggles on under four different boards—one for the white schools of Washington, another for those of Georgetown; the third for those of the rest of the district, and another for the colored schools of the whole district; in spite of the excellence of some of the school buildings, others in use are utterly unfit for the assembly of children; no provision has yet been made for the training of teachers, and no exact or thoroughly arranged method for development by grades into higher school instruction; and nearly one-half of the children of school age are growing up unbenefted by the system of public instruction.

3. Since 1810 appropriations have been made for educational purposes among the Indians; and if I may use the statement of a careful accountant who has examined the subject, \$6,000,000 have since that date been set apart with this object, the average annual appropriations being at present not far from \$125,000.

Beyond what has been accomplished by Christian missionaries, what have we to show? Alas! if not "wars and rumors of wars," we have their going back, as in the case of the village Indians of New Mexico, into a greater barbarism. These Indians, by their manner of life, offering a specially favorable opportunity for schools, a considerable number of them, when we received their territory, being able to read Spanish through the system of instruction adopted for them by Charles the Fifth, are now almost totally illiterate under the neglect of the general government. But it is not merely the neglect nor the amount of money expended that should come into this view. Appropriate attention, a right expenditure of the money from the first, would have transferred annually a number of Indians over the line between barbarism and civilization, advanced their people in capacity for the duties of American citizens, saved the national character from the stain brought on it by its Indian policy, and the

Treasury of the United States from untold millions of expenditure for Indian wars.

Ladies and gentlemen, have you ever counted the children under these several heads—territorial, district and Indian—for whose training the national government is directly responsible by the terms of the constitution? A careful computation, based on the census of 1860 places the number of school age, not including those in Alaska, at 226,800, or about a quarter of a million—more than the combined school population, as given by the same authority, in the states of South Carolina, Oregon, Rhode Island, Florida and Delaware. If out of the 81,918 wild Indian children of school age included in the above estimate, any considerable number had received the benefit of the annual appropriations for education, there might now be on the borders none of the barbaric horrors conveyed by the words, an "Indian War."

My friends, with what apology can we go to the future generations for this neglect? It is useless to say that they are savages and worthy only of destruction, while for pagans and savages the world is aglow with missions.

4. The national government may also do all that its international relations require in regard to education.

Probably a Diogenes could not find a citizen of this country who does not believe in the American mission. Fair Columbia is not for herself alone, but was sent for the benefit of others. We have seen that education, directly or indirectly, is one of the first functions of government with respect to its own citizens. Basing his abstract ideas of government on reason and conscience, the American naturally applies the principle to all nations, and acts accordingly. Our fathers, "out of a decent respect to the opinion of mankind, declared the causes which impelled them to the separation;" our statesmen have ever sought to infuse into international law principles of rectitude; the growth of the nation, and especially its triumphant deliverance from its recent perils, have steadily advanced it toward pre-eminence among nations. The leading statesmen of the most advanced powers of Europe, as Dr. Hoyt observes, have come to accept it as a settled maxim of government that the enlightenment of the people and national prosperity are not accidentally coincident, but necessarily so, sustaining to each other the relation of cause and effect. They therefore seek the key to the secret of American progress in our methods of training youth. England, France, Germany send out their commissioners to examine and report. How long shall it be true, as recently affirmed on the floor of Congress by the Hon. G. F. Hoar, "that the only respectable accounts of public instruction in this country have been prepared by foreign governments?" Certainly, whatever excellence is attained in our system of education no American would withhold from any quarter of the

globe. How can the Yankee nation preserve its character for universality without doing and being prepared to do all that may be fit to disseminate knowledge of whatever is excellent in the culture of any of its people? To respond to every call, whether it comes as recently from Hungary, with regard to our city schools, or from France, with regard to teaching of drawing and design, or from England, with regard to military training, or from the remote colonies of Victoria and South Australia, or from the teachers of the Netherlands seeking American educational statistics and information?

No foreign nation is satisfied to conduct its educational system without a knowledge of the improvements made in our country. An Italian minister is known to have lamented, when desiring to organize a vast system of instruction in his country, that he had not the American documents on hand. Sarmiento, the philosopher and philanthropist, who more than any other gives promise of being the regenerator of the Argentine Republic, declared in a letter to Mr. Sumner—"If the United States owe an account to the human race of their experience and progress in certain respects, which are important to the well being and improvement of mankind, just as they received from England and from human thought many of the principal benefits of government, a means of transmitting knowledge would hereby have been established, and the National Department of Education would have fulfilled that useful function beside the special object for which it was created." So high is his opinion of the educational responsibility of the United States that he declares it would have come to be, as it were, "the department of international and foreign educational relations;" its reports and data would, when collected, have been a fountain of information not only to the South American States, but other nations; for even if a report of Massachusetts or New York schools can be obtained in Europe, such documents, by their purely provincial character, are wanting in the authority which the seal of the United States would give to those of a national department.

Does not the nation, moreover, owe it, not only to the children but to their teachers, that no improvement should be made in any quarter of the globe without the full benefits of it being secured for them? What valuable information and powerful impulses have been brought to us from educational efforts in Europe? What other instrumentality can so fitly as the nation secure these, communicate and scatter them abroad?

These international comparisons are recently strikingly illustrating their advantages. One of the French commissioners at the London international Exhibition of 1862, reported to Napoleon, that apprehensions were excited lest France should be outrivalled in the rapidity of her industrial progress, and recommended special schools

for instruction in the arts. On the other hand (and may we not say as a result of this French observation?) at a conference on technical education in January, 1868, a manufacturer from Birmingham was able to present a list of sixty or seventy articles, many of the highest importance, made in that city and the hardware district, which had been within a few years replaced in the markets of the world by the products of other countries. Hither, especially if we would preserve the freedom of our industries, must the nation turn its attention, so that at every center of sufficient population there may be an adequacy of instruction in the mechanic arts, to give the inventive and industrial genius and hand of the country every needful aid that can be obtained from what is accomplished abroad. As Mr. Hoar observes in the able speech already quoted, "upon this ground surely the protectionist and the free trader can unite; no American statesman will be unwilling to give to the American workman the advantage in the great industrial competition of mankind, which results from superiority of knowledge." There is a certain national pride in the extent to which our country in the recent war has in many particulars outstripped the powers of the earth in the equipment and management of armies and navies. But the mission of the United States is one of peace, rather than war. She assumes to lead the nations of the earth toward an age in which reason and conscience are to be supreme.

5. The national government may call all persons or States to account for whatever has been intrusted to them by it for educational purposes. This is only the declaration of the principle founded in nature and embodied in our national compact. A very considerable portion of the permanent school fund of the country, and in some instances the total amount, has been received from the United States, either in land grants or the surplus distributed from the treasury. In several of the Southern States, one of the first indications of their separation from the responsibilities of the Union was the waste of these funds for war purposes. Indeed, at the last session of Congress facts that were becoming known with regard to the Agricultural College land grants, were prompting the committee on education and labor unanimously to seek a remedy of the evils, even though it should be through an absolute revocation of the grants. No one familiar with the incitements to human accountability can doubt, that had the national government, from the first donation of aid, simply required a report of the management of all grants, bestowed and deposits made, there would have been much better use made of them and vastly greater benefits accrued to her youth and citizens.

6. The national government may use either the public domain or the money received from its sale for the benefit of education.



Senator Willey, of West Virginia, introduced a bill for this purpose during the last session of Congress, and in his speech in its support observed, that "it had been ascertained that the net balance from the land sales for the year ending June 30, 1869, was \$3,919,070, which divided among the States according to the provisions of his bill would give to each congressional district the sum of about \$10,600."

Suppose either the lands or the money from their sale be given with a condition that some specified amount be raised by local (city, county or state) taxation, and that the schools be conducted in accordance with approved principles of organization, maintained by the people and directed by officers of their choosing; what a stimulus would be communicated throughout the whole country to educational endeavor? Great as is the direct advantage from the \$90,000 annually distributed from the Peabody fund, far greater good will result from the conditions on which it is distributed by the trustees through Dr. Sears, that wise and skillful educator.

7. The National Government may know all about education in the country, and may communicate of what it knows at the discretion of Congress and the Executive. This is done to a certain extent in the census, and has become one of its most important features, and I may mention that the country is fully warranted in expecting from the present census, under the supervision of General Walker, directed by Secretary Cox, more than has ever before been secured. It cannot be admitted, however, that this decennial and limited effort is sufficient in respect to an interest so vital to every other. The nation expends hundreds of thousands of dollars for its own protection, in its ministerial and consular policy, chiefly to keep itself posted on the friendly or unfriendly attitude of other powers; but no foreign relation can be of such consequence to it as the condition of its own citizens, in regard to intelligence or ignorance. No foreign facts can be of such importance to it, as the fact that the number of male illiterates over twenty years old, (may we not say voters?) in the thirty-three States of the Union (not including Kansas, Nebraska, Nevada, and Oregon,) according to the census of 1860, was of whites, 612,721; of colored, 921,624; or a total of 1,534,325 voters unable to read and write; showing the majority in the last general election being 309,722, that the balance of power was in the hands of less than one-fifth of the illiterate voters of the country, if they had combined for its control. Can any one count this array of political power and feel any too well assured of the future destiny of the republic? Indeed, the illiterate voters in seventeen of the respective States, according to the same census, already outnumber the majorities in those States in the last general election; nor can all this be charged to the South, or

the Fifteenth Amendment, for Ohio had 26,292; Pennsylvania, 31,453; and New York, 50,356 white voters who could not read and write.

8. The National Government may make laws for these several purposes, and the Federal Courts may adjudicate questions under them.

9. In accordance with these laws, plainly the Government should provide a national educational office and an officer, and furnish him clerks, and all means for the fulfilment of the national educational obligations.

10. The government may take, as has been established, by legislative and executive action, and by the decision of the courts, such exceptional action as exceptional circumstances may require, (a), for the public welfare, (b), for the assurance of a Republican form of government, (c), for the protection of the liberty of those lately slaves, (d), for the security of their citizenship, (e), for the free exercise of the right to vote, (f), for the equality of all men before the law, and (g), for the fitting of any citizen for any responsibility the nation may impose on him.

IV. Finally, I mention some of the benefits of the general government's doing fully all that its relation to public education requires.

However derelict with respect to education the people of any section may have been, we may affirm with assurance, that their action would have been less so, had the educational sentiments of Washington and his compeers prevailed in the National Councils. Whatever censure we bestow on any state, for the ignorance of its people, the National Government must share it.

1. When we find, using the census of 1860 and the recent reports of postal and revenue receipts, that on an average, every individual of the population in New England, paid in 1869, 84 7-10 cents for his use of the postal service, and that each individual in the six coast-planting States, from South Carolina to Louisiana, inclusive, paid on an average only 19 cents for his use of the postal service, and that if the intelligence of all the sections of the country were brought up to its measure in New England, there would not only be no annual deficit, as now, of \$5,000,000.00 in the postal receipts, but a surplus of \$7,000,000.00, thus allowing the Department to be self-supporting, and to reduce letter postage to two cents, when we further find that the individuals of these same states (classed by sixes) put their hands in their pockets to make up this, among other annual deficits, as seen in the internal revenue receipts, every individual in New England on the average paying \$4.62, and every one in the coast-planting states only 90 8-10 cents into the treasury, we are in doubt whether to blame most the sections in ignorance, or the apathy of the intelligent sections, or the neglect of the general government, that chooses rather to tolerate this inequality of burdens, than to



take any adequate or appropriate means for the dissemination of intelligence.

2. The nation fulfilling its duties in this relation, education will no longer be excluded from the topics of congressional discussion. Already the sentiments of the fathers have repeated themselves in the extended speeches of Messrs. Garfield, Prosser, and Hoar, and the briefer declarations of numerous Senators and members, whenever the question has arisen. President Grant, in connection with the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, fitly, in the spirit of Washington, recommends the doing of all that may be appropriately done to prepare these new citizens for the competent and faithful discharge of their new duties. No longer will the subject be beneath the attention of statesmen. Well do I remember the shock my mind received when first struck by the idea that our public men actually outgrew a knowledge of and interest in school affairs.

Making some inquiries on important questions of school management, I sought to bring to bear upon the conclusions I might reach the opinions of several statesmen whom I most honored, among whom to none had I given a higher place than to Mr. Seward. But "My countrymen, what a fall was there" in my expectations, when the cool reply came back in substance that he had so much to do with public affairs that he knew nothing about questions of school management. There would be, under the change under discussion, a sufficient motive for their seeking acquaintance with so important a subject. Education would no longer be excluded from the topics on which Congress publishes documents for the information and benefit of the people. It would no longer be true, as of the last session, that for the publication of the report of storms, \$15,000, of wind and current charts, \$12,000, and of the Nautical Almanac, \$26,500 were voted, and not a cent for educational publications; nor that, as in 1866, \$50,000 for the publication of the medical and surgical history of the rebellion, for the benefit of the lucrative profession of Medicine, numbering, by the census of 1860, 54,193 members, when not a cent was voted for any publication for the benefit of the impecunious profession of teaching, numbering, according to the same authority, 150,251. A just judgment, we believe, will affirm that these things ought to be done, and the others ought not to have been left undone.

3. The effect of intelligence and culture upon the national welfare, its peace, its enterprise, and its production of wealth, will be more readily seen and acknowledged. Not only Labor, but Capital, finding that the ability to read and write, adds, as ascertained by the inquiries of Mr. Mann, at least twenty-five per cent., on the average, to the productive capacity of the manual laborer, will everywhere be enlisted in favor of education. An annual national report upon education in the country, show-

ing the relative rank, and respective accomplishments of different States, cities, colleges, and universities, would apply to the action of all the stimulus of a noble, and generous emulation. Follies would be pointed out, errors corrected, more just standards of comparison established.

Many communities are indifferent about their own schools, simply because they do not know what others are doing. If history brings back the past, and adds to our existence, the lives of our fathers, raising and extending our perceptions, and our knowledge of them, and bettering our comprehension of ourselves, giving us a more clear and natural perception of our education and destiny, an acquaintance with what is remote in place, but present in time, produces, in a measure, the same effect, with the additional impression that it comes from the living, instead of the dead. A national report would thus put in the hands of every educator, not only a comparison of his own system with that of others immediately about him, but the excellencies and defects that are most marked, in the labors of all the educators of America, strengthened by facts and comparisons, drawn from other portions of the world. The struggling educators of the south, would be furnished with the facts, precedents, experiments, and arguments needed for the success of their unequal conflict. Any improvement effected in any district, town, city or State, would be put within the reach of every other.

Indeed, the national recognition of education should shed a corresponding benefit on all its instrumentalities, the teacher, the school officer, and all the efforts made for improvement in organization, management, houses, apparatus, books, discipline, and instruction. Dr. Barnard believes that the single work issued by him, on school-architecture, has saved the waste of millions of money, and contributed to an extent, never to be determined, to the comfort and health of thousands of pupils.

A new motive, a new consideration would be added to educational thought, another inspiration, and a new door opened to endeavor. Nor are any without the need of these. "Now," said Nelson, when clearing for action, "now for a peerage or Westminster Abbey." "I have no illusions left," said Sidney Smith, "but the Archbishop of Canterbury." Said Burke, "the Lawyers are only birds of passage in the House of Commons," and then added with a change of figure, "they have their best bower anchor in the House of Lords."

But specially, and comprehensively, its benefits would reach all the youth in the country. We cannot settle for them, the question of their day, or bear their responsibilities; but we can assure their education; we would not take them out of the world; but we can help to prepare them to live in it. The clear-sighted and far-seeing educator, justly looking at the defects in the best city and State systems, giving amplest

credit for all excellencies, yet perceiving the need acknowledged by the educators of Massachusetts for progress there, and the failure in New York, and nearly all our large cities, to reach the tens of thousands of degraded youth, marks everywhere the resistance offered by ignorance, self-interest, vice, and crime, to the enlightenment and culture of the people, and knows that the battle has to be renewed, in a measure, for every generation. He finds Delaware without State school supervision, leaving all educational questions to the counties, and having no provision for the blacks; Maryland, though recently revising her laws, educating colored children only in Baltimore; Virginia but just putting a free school law on her statute book; West Virginia upon the point of striking from her system its right arm, county supervision; Kentucky just enacting a new school law, but giving no opportunity for colored youth; Tennessee, after establishing free schools, and assembling in them nearly two hundred thousand children, reversing her course, and providing only for the most inefficient county action, outside her largest cities; North Carolina with a school law upon her statute books, but at the close of the last year, not a school in the country districts, directly under the auspices of the State law; South Carolina but slightly in advance; Georgia with her legislation where it was before the war; Alabama, though with a free school system, and one hundred and sixty thousand pupils enrolled, yet with the whole so connected with the old order of private schools, as to rob it of much of its freedom of action, and prevent its highest usefulness; Florida with a system partly organized, the Legislature adjourning after its late winter session without making any provision for the levy of the school tax; Mississippi just writing its school law; Arkansas with an efficient system, but the schools only partially organized; Louisiana with a system adapted to efficiency, but not more than seventy-five schools reported, outside of New Orleans, at the date of the last report; Texas without legislation, the Senate refusing to confirm the Superintendent nominated by the Governor—all over this Southern section, not only lack of educational sentiment, but positive hostility to instruction and instructors: when he observes these facts, and the neglected condition of education where the United States are directly responsible, as we have already noticed, and reflects that the census of 1860, out of an adult population of 15,183,580, gives 2,952,239 not able to read and write, and out of 11,210,144 children of school age, reports 5,529,772—or about one-half—who do not attend school, need we be surprised if he has some misgivings about how the battle is going?

Does his heart sink within him when he contemplates these darker facts? Let him recall the scene at Marengo. The two great armies had toiled and surged amid the smoke and roar and shot of cannon and

musketry, the cavalry charge and the horrors of the dead and dying; points had been lost and won; the Napoleonic destiny seemed to have forsaken the French standards. When the Great Commander called a council of his marshals, passing his inquiries one to another, each in some form acknowledged his conviction of defeat, when turning to one specially trusted, he inquired, "what think you of the battle?" The day was already considerably passed; pulling out his watch and noting the hour, the Marshal answered, "Yes, the battle is lost, but there is time enough to win another." The council was dissolved, new orders issued, the spirit of victory possessed the French forces and the battle was won.

Friends, educators of America, does the duty of the hour call us here in council over the conflict which rages between light and darkness? In answer to its pressing questions, does some one, weighed down with the conviction of the unquestionable evils of ignorance already experienced point to the fact that five years, or a school generation, have so far been lost in the regions swept over by the late war, and the friends of education by so much put to disadvantage? Does another point to the variety of races already composing the American people, and declare that a harmony and homogeneity sufficient for national action is impossible according to all the lights of history? Does another declare that the struggle with the effete elements of European civilization has been all that we can stand, and with pallor and trembling whisper that 'tis vain to hope for success in the face-to-face encounter with the ossified civilization of the Orient, embraced and sustained as it is by stolid peoples outnumbering many times our own, from among whom China alone could send to our shores one-tenth of her population—a number hardly missed there but fully equal to the whole of ours? Does another find reason for further and irretrievable disaster in the conflicts between free and papal religions, between Christianity and Paganism, the common school going down amid the hostilities of dogmas and the indifference of its friends? Does another exclaim: Yes, suppose all these difficulties should be overcome, and one free Christian civilization fully possess the land: its geographical vastness, its cold north and sunny south, its iron-ribbed Appalachian and golden-veined Rocky chain of mountains present natural causes forcing differences of body, mind and habit, which the annals of mankind record as incompatible with sufficient harmony in laws, manners and customs to constitute, for any length of time, national utility?

Does not the spirit of the hour, admitting all these facts and possibilities of stern encounter, thrill us with the declaration that, whatever has been lost in the past, there is time enough yet for victory? With a few exceptions the law of the States from which

slavery lately excluded universal education have been changed and adapted to the introduction of vigorous systems. The States most advanced are fullest of efforts for progress, Massachusetts, in the interest of her artisans, just now enacting that drawing shall be taught in certain city schools. The first condition of success, the knowledge of our necessities, is taking possession of the public mind. The instruction of every child in the country in our mother tongue furnishes an all-pervading medium of communication, and opens every mind, will, conscience, judgment, imagination to the same facts, opinions and considerations. Foreigners of every clime may come here, and their children, whatever other language they know, will speak and write English. The unities of truth in every science and art will be within the reach of all minds. Forgetting none of the physical conditions of national greatness and unity, we trust the future of America more to in-

tellectual and moral considerations—a oneness of conscience as respects God and man, through her great purpose of liberty, rendering laws and institutions homogeneous, lifting all her people out of the miasma of prejudice into the healthful and invigorating atmosphere of intelligence and virtue, filling the land with activities and enterprises which through the intercommunication by storm and lightning render futile all material barriers so fatal to progress in the past, and keeping up an interchange of thought, sentiment and population, the assurance of growth normal to itself and equal to the task of any absorption Providence may require.

Thus, living her own great national Christian life, America may teach other nations how to live, and we may confidently await the future of education,

“As a child drops some pebble small  
Down a deep well and hears it fall,  
Smiling.”

---

THE Committee appointed to report on the address of Gen. JOHN EATON, National Commissioner of Education, through their chairman, Prof. W. E. Crosby, of Davenport, Iowa, submitted the following resolutions, which were adopted:—

*Resolved*, That we heartily approve the views and recommendations therein so ably stated and urged.

*Resolved*, That we respectfully petition Congress to make a larger appropriation of money to meet what seems to us the first claims of general education upon the National Bureau.

*Resolved*, That General EATON, together with the Presiding Officers of this Association, be a Committee to press the matter here referred to upon the attention of Congress.

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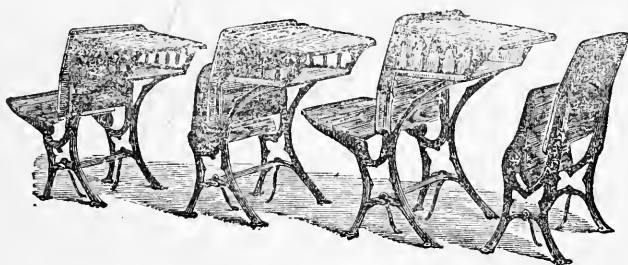
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